

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 ACDA-05 TRSE-00 SAI-01 CU-02 OES-03 EB-04

/080 W

----- 119445

R 151100Z NOV 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9222

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T GENEVA 6962

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: POSITIONS OF ALLIES -PART 3-FRG

1. IN RESPONSE TO DEPARTMENT'S REQUEST, WE TRANSMIT BELOW OUR CURRENT ESTIMATE OF PARTICULAR CONCERNS WHICH FRG HAS IN CSCE. WE HAVE NOT REPEAT NOT ATTEMPTED TO ELABORATE ON SUBJECTS WHICH ARE OF GENERAL CONCERN TO ALL OR MOST NATO ALLIES, AND OF WHICH THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE.

2. PRINCIPLES---

(A) GENERAL-- FRG SHARES GENERAL ALLIED GOALS IN THE PRINCIPLES, BUT THEIR FUNDAMENTAL DESIRE TO PRESERVE THEIR POSITIONS OF PRINCIPLE ON GERMANY AND BERLIN OUTWEIGHS ANDY DESIRE THEY MAY HAVE TO TRY TO ATTENUATE THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE, AS OTHER ALLIES WISH TO DO.

(B) OSTPOLITIK-- FRG APPROACH TO THE PRINCIPLES AND POSSIBLE MEASURES FOR THEIR IMPLEMENTATION IS DOMINATED BY NEED TO AVOID INTERNAL POLITICAL CRITICISM OF CONCESSIONS TO THE EAST ON ISSUES AFFECTING GERMANY, PARTICULARLY THE POSSIBILITY OF EVENTUAL REUNIFICATION. THIS HAS MEANT CONTINUING REVIEW, AND FREQUENT

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REVERSAL, OF FRG POSITIONS, AND RELUCTANCE TO JOIN

COMPROMISES WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR GERMAN ISSUES.

(C) PEACEFUL CHANGE-- FRG IS UNHAPPY OVER THE COMPROMISE REACHED LAST APRIL ON THE ISSUES OF INVIO-
LABILITY OF FRONTIERS AND PEACEFUL CHANGE. THEY INDI-
CATED THEIR RESRVATIONS THEN AND ARE PREPARED TO
REOPEN THE QUESTION AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME. THEY STATE
THAT THEY HOPE EITHER TO INCORPORATE A STATEMENT ON
PEACEFUL CHANGE IN THE PRINCIPLE OF INVIO-
LABILITY OF FRONTIERS OR TO OBTAIN A MORE POSITIVE SENTENCE ON
PEACEFUL CHANGE IN THE SOVEREIGN EQUALITY PRINCIPLE,
ALONG THE LINES OF THAT TABLED BY THE US ON
JULY 26. THE FRG HAS PERSUADED THE NINE TO SUPPORT
THIS FORMULATION AND REFERS TO IT ORDINARILY AS THE
"AMERICAN SENTENCE" IN ORDER TO AVOID THE IMPRESSION
OF FRG ISOLATION ON THIS POINT. THE SOVIETS
OPPOSE THE JULY 26 TEXT. WE HAVE ENCOURAGED BONN AND
MOSCOW TO WORK OUT THEIR DIFFERENCES ON THIS BILATERALLY,
BUT CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN THEM HAVE NOT YET BEGUN, AT
THIS WRITING, TO OUR KNOWLEDGE.

(D) TERRITORIAL INTERGRITY--- ON TERRITORIAL
INTEGRITY, THE FRG WANTS EARLY PROVISIONAL REGISTRA-
TION OF THE PRINCIPLE ALONG LINES OF A TEXT THEY HAVE
WORKED OUR PRIVATELY WITH THE SOVIETS, WHICH IS ACCEPT-
ABLE TO THE WARSAW PACT STATES, EXCEPT ROMANIA, AND TO
MOST NATO ALLIES. HOWEVER, AMENDMENTS FROM THE
DUTCH (RIGHT OF STATES TO CHANGE THEIR POLITICAL
REGIMES) AND GREEKS (STATES SHOULD NOT ENCOURAGE THE
DISMEMBERMENT OF OTHER STATES) MAY LEAD TO PROTRACTED
DEBATE.

(E) ENEMY STATES CLAUSES-- FRG IS CONCERNED ABOUT
POSSIBLE SOVIET MISUSE OF THE ENEMY STATES CLAUSES
(ARTICLES 53 AND 107) OF THE UN CHARTER FOR INTERFERNECE
IN INTERNAL FRG AFFAIRS. THEY HAVE THEREFORE BEEN
RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT PROPOSALS FOR DIRECT REFERENCE TO
THE UNCHARTER TO QUALIFY NON-USE OF FORCE LANGUAGE IN
PRINCIPLES DECLARATION AND IN ROMANIAN PROPOSAL. THIS
CONFLICTS WITH THEIR DESIRE, NOTED ABOVE, TO MAINTAIN
INTEGRITY OF WESTERN LEGAL POSITIONS RE BERLIN.

(F) ROMANIAN PROPOSAL-- FRG HAS OPPOSED A SEP-
ARATE DOCUMENT SPELLING OUT MEASURES FOR IMPLEMENTATION
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OF THE NON-USE OF FORCE PRINCIPLE, AND HAS SPECIAL
PROBLEMS WITH ROMANIAN PARAGRAPH WHICH WOULD PROHIBIT
ENTRY OR STATIONING OF TROOPS IN ANOTHER COUNTRY WITHOUT
ITS CONSENT. FRG IS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT SUCH
A PROVISION COULD BE USED TO HAMPER MOVEMENT OF TROOPS
ACROSS GDR TERRITORY TO BERLIN.

3. MILITARY ASPECTS--

(A) GENERAL--FRG SHARES GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF NATO ALLIES TO HAVE SOME MODEST MILITARY CONTENT IN CSCE, IN FORM OF MEANINGFUL AGREEMENT ON CBMS.

(B) MOVEMENTS-- LIKE OTHER ALLIES, FRG FAVORS A CBM ON MOVEMENTS, BUT ARE RESIGNED THAT THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE, AND HOPE WE CAN AGREE TO A A COMPROMISE FORMULATION TO COUNTER THE SOVIET PROPOSAL LINKING THE MOVEMENTS ISSUE TO FOLLOW-UP.

(C) NATURE OF COMMITMENT-- LIKE OTHER ALLIES, FRG FAVORS UK FORMULATION FOR NATURE OF COMMITMENT ON CBMS ("HAVE DECIDED THAT THEY WILL...") AND DO NOT BELIEVE THIS ENTAILS A LEGAL OBLIGATION.

(D) AREA FOR CBMS-- FRG IS MOST STRONGLY OPPOSED OF ALL ALLIES TO SOVIET BORDER-ZONE CONCEPT FOR AREA OF APPLICATION FOR CBMS, AND STRONGLY FAVORS INCLUDING LARGE PORTION OF EUROPEAN USSR WITHIN THE AREA. BROAD AREA OF APPLICATION OF CBMS WOULD, IN FRG VIEW, SERVE TO COUNTERACT POSSIBLE TENDENCY OF MBFR CONSTRAINTS AND VERIFICATION MEASURES TO CONVERT GERMANY, DE FACTO, INTO SPECIAL SECURITY ZONE IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

4. ECONOMICS-- EC-NINE SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE ON TRADE ISSUES, WHICH COMPRISE THE BULK OF ECONOMIC SUBJECTS IN CSCE. THEIR BASIC OBJECTIVE IS TO LIBERALIZE EASTERN TRADE REGIMES WHILE RETAINING POSSIBILITIES FOR USE OF PROTECTIVE DEVICES AGAINST POTENTIALLY DAMAGING EASTERN TRADE PRACTICES.

5. SCIENCE FORUM-- FRG APPEARS TO HAVE ACCEPTED THAT THE ONLY THING WHICH WILL RESULT FROM THEIR PROPOSAL FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF A EUROPEAN SCIENCE FORUM WILL BE A FUTURE MEETING OF EXPERTS TO STUDY THE IDEA.

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6. BASKET III--

(A) GENERAL-- FRG SHARES GENERAL ALLIED OBJECTIVE OF OBTAINING SOME MEANINGFUL FREER MOVEMENT PROVISIONS, PARTICULARLY UNDER HEADINGS OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION, MARRIAGE, TRAVEL, AUDIO-VISUAL INFORMATION, AND WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS.

(B) FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND MARRIAGE-- FRG HAS A PARTICULARLY STRONG INTEREST IN FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND MARRIAGE, BECAUSE OF SEPARATION PROBLEMS OF MANY GERMANS. THEY ARE ALSO INTERESTED IN AVOIDING CAVEATS WHICH MIGHT DIMINISH THE FORCE OF AGREEMENTS ON THESE SUBJECTS, SUCH AS THE SOVIET PROPOSAL TO MAKE THEM SUBJECT TO "MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS".

(C) JOURNALISTS-- FRG IS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN OBTAINING A MEANINGFUL TEXT ON WORKING CONDITIONS

FOR JOURNALISTS.

(D) JAMMING-- FRG IS INTERESTED IN SECURING THE STATUS QUO ON RADIO JAMMING.

(E) LIBRARIES/READING ROOMS-- FRG HAS A SPECIAL INTEREST IN FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF LIBRARIES/READING ROOMS FOR FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS, AND HAS GIVEN IT STRONG SUPPORT.

7. FOLLOW-UP-- FRG POSITION ON FOLLOW-UP HAS GROWN MORE RESERVED SINCE SCHMIDT AND GENSCHER TOOK OFFICE. THEY NOW APPEAR TO BE MORE CLOSELY ALIGNED WITH THE FRENCH IN FAVORING AN INTERIM PERIOD BEFORE FINAL DECISION ON FOLLOW-UP IS TAKEN.

8. LEVEL OF STAGE III--FRG LEADERS HAVE BEEN AMONG THE MOST OUTSPOKEN WESTERN STATESMEN IN RECOGNIZING THE PROBABILITY OF A SUMMIT-LEVEL CONCLUSION TO CSCE.DALE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETINGS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 NOV 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: cunninfx
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974GENEVA06962
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740330-0404
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741141/aaaabida.tel
Line Count: 186
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: cunninfx
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <14 MAY 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <18 MAR 2003 by cunninfx>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: POSITIONS OF ALLIES -PART 3-FRG
TAGS: PFOR, XG, GE, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005